Build a Labor Party Now!

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THE ATTEMPT TO FREE TROTSKY'S ASSASSIN

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Labor Sees Deadly Parallel Between M'Carthy and Hitler

Dulles Demands Latin Americans OK Intervention

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, Wall Street's hatchet-man at the Tenth Inter-American Conference at Caracas, Venezuela, has demanded a signed oath from all Latin American countries to support U.S. intervention against any one of them whose form of government U.S. imperialism does not find satisfactory. Washington's delegation has demanded the enactment of a U.S. resolution which provides a formula for U.S. assault under the guise of taking "necessary measures to protect their political independence against intervention of international communism."

Central to the loyalty oath that Dulles proposed to exact from the countries south of the Rio Grand is the proposition: "That the domination or control of the political institutions of any American state by the international Communist movement, extending to this hemisphere the political system of an extra-continental power would constitute a threat to the sovereignty and political independence of the American states, endangering the peace of America, and would call for appropriate action in accordance with existing treaties."

AIM OF RESOLUTION

Thus, any government which refused to knuckle under to Wall Street and lay its country open to unlimited exploitation by U.S. capitalism could be accused of maintaining "the political system of an extra continental power," presumably the Soviet Union, and might be subject to U.S. economic reprisal and military assault.

An inter-American military alliance was consummated in Aug. 1947, at the Petropolis, Brazil, conference, presumably aimed at Soviet military "aggression." But the Petropolis pact also provided for military implementation even if "any American state should be affected by an aggression which is not an armed attack. . ."

ECONOMIC PRESSURE

Sam Pope Brewer, N. Y. Times correspondent, explained in his March 6 dispatch from Caracas that control of any American government by so-called "Communists," "could be construed as 'an aggression which is not an armed attack.'"

By threat of economic and diplomatic reprisal the U.S. expects to push through this resolution. Another Times correspondent, Sydney Gruson, on March 7 disclosed: "Some delegates conceded that Washington, by acting tough and exerting economic pressure, could push through the resolution in forty-eight hours. **But they warned that this would be a pyrrhic victory. As one delegate remarked, 'If the U.S. wanted it badly enough, it could have a resolution passed declaring two and two are five.'"**

On Tour Against McCarthyism

By Murry Weiss

I reached Detroit yesterday Feb. 26, and I'm leaving for St. Louis in three days. Yet I feel like a native Detroiter. This is a beehive of activity to place the Socialist Workers Party on the Michigan state ballot.

The figures on petition gathering are astounding. And the incidents reported by our petition crews are even more impressive. The workers are giving us a reception such as we've never had during the last years of witch-hunting reaction.

One petitioner got 70 signatures in a single hour in a working-class neighborhood. That's more than one a minute! The average is running about 25 or 30 an hour in all parts of the state.

Of course a good part of this reflects the attitude of our election workers. They are fighting with such determination and moving at such momentum that they practically had me worn out just being around a few hours. This is Socialist Workers Party action in high gear against McCarthyism and depression. You have to see it to believe it.

One worker studied the petition carefully when asked to sign. Our comrade, a veteran petition gatherer during the tough years, braced herself for questions about whether this was a "red" petition. But the worker signed and explained, **"I just wanted to make sure it wasn't for the Republican or Democratic Party."**

Two years ago the SWP was knocked off the Michigan ballot by a ruling under the infamous Trucks Law, which was passed as a result of a visit by the Velde House Un-American Activities Committee early in 1952. When

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McCarthy Wields Blackmail Club Of Ex-Tax Official's Secret Diary

By George Breitman

McCarthy's power, which reached a new height in his easy victory over Stevens and which was not disturbed by Eisenhower's perfumed note, is sure to grow stronger yet in the next period. For McCarthy has recently gotten hold of something that can be used to blackmail both Republicans and Democrats in high places in Washington, and there is no doubt that he will use it to the hilt to silence and disarm opponents in both capitalist parties in his drive to become the first fascist President of the United States.

That McCarthy is a blackmailer was amply proved last month when he threatened to smear as helpers of communism all members of the U.S. Senate who would dare to vote against the $214,000 appropriation he demanded for his witch-hunting committee. That he is a successful blackmailer was shown by the fact that only one Democrat in the Senate had the nerve to vote against the appropriation although the entire Senate knew that this money would be used to smear all Democrats and liberals as "traitors."

Now McCarthy has obtained a new and more direct blackmail weapon that will reinforce his command over both houses of Congress and make the White House more reluctant than before to challenge him in any way.

SECRET DIARY

"McCarthy has gotten his hands on a dynamite-loaded document that involves many members of Congress," reports the Washington correspondent, Robert S. Allen (N. Y. Post, March 4). "This explosive document is the 1,000-page diary of Charles Oliphant, former general counsel of the Internal Revenue Bureau."

Oliphant and his diary figured prominently in tax scandals that were investigated by a House Ways and Means subcommittee last year. Only two copies of the diary were known to exist, Allen reports. One was in the files of the House subcommittee, the other in the Justice Department where it was supposed to be used for prosecuting purposes. The diary was never made public. The subcommittee allowed only carefully selected extracts to be read into its records.

The reason was obvious. "The document consists of detailed accounts of all (of Oliphant's) important telephone conversations and conferences while in the IRB. Most of them deal with tax cases, some involving criminal charges, in which Senators, Representatives and hundreds of other officials evinced personal interest of varying degrees.

"The list of these names is bipartisan. They include high Congressional leaders of both parties."

CRIMINAL DEALS

Oliphant, who was deeply implicated in crooked and criminal deals that saved billions of dollars for the big capitalists and corporations, decided to cover himself by recording the involvement and intervention on their behalf by the many leading politicians of both major parties who consider it part of their duties to help Big Business defraud the government.

His diary evidently has the goods to explode dozens of congressional careers and to discredit both capitalist parties. For that reason neither party is eager to make full use of them, and both subscribe to a gentlemen's agreement to keep them from the public.

Now, Allen reports, the Senate GOP Policy Committee has learned that McCarthy has his hands on this "political A-bomb." He has a photostatic copy of the diary and "has been poring over it for a month" and members of his staff, using it as a reference, have been going through FBI files "compiling voluminous tax dossiers for McCarthy."

How he got hold of it is conjectural, Allen says, because only the White House can open these files for scrutiny. But late in January "McCarthy sent word to the White House that he wanted to investigate certain tax matters (for his committee) and was authorized to examine Revenue Bureau records."

This may prove to be the biggest blunder of the Eisenhower administration's whole history.

Blackmail and extortion always have been component parts of capitalist politics and parliamentary life. But they are usually practiced within a certain framework, and under an unwritten rule: "You mustn't use it to hurt your own party in the eyes of the public."

COVER EACH OTHER UP

Thus the Eisenhower administration probably could use the Oliphant diary with devastating effect against the Democrats, and vice versa. But they don't do it because it would mean discrediting highly placed members of their own party.

But this rule, generally respected by run-of-the-mill Republicans and Democrats, means less than nothing to McCarthy. "Party regularity" is something that he observes when it suits his own purposes, and flagrantly violates whenever it gets in the way of his campaign to take over the Republican Party and turn it into a fascist organization. As Max Lerner put it, McCarthy

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The Apt Pupil

How to Fight Fascist Menace Has Become The Decisive Question

By Joseph Keller

Important sectors of organized labor are beginning to see a deadly parallel between Senator McCarthy and the late Adolph Hitler. Awareness of the Wisconsin political gangster's ambition to become America's fascist dictator is expressed in several of the most influential labor papers in the country. Fear of McCarthyite fascism now extends even into traditionally conservative top union circles.

Thus, the March 6 Labor, national weekly newspaper of 15 leading railroad unions, editorially warns that "McCarthy's unscrupulous ambition stands out clear: Like Hitler, he is determined to rule or ruin. His alleged fight on 'Communism' is just a mask. He is following the old prescription of 'divide and conquer' . . . . by stirring fear and hatred and hysteria among our people — as Hitler did in Germany — he hopes to undermine democracy and put himself on top."

Justice, official publication of the AFL International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, in its March 1 issue also finds "a deadly parallel" between McCarthy's rise today and Hitler's rise twenty years ago. Hitler "bullied his way to power by destroying democratic methods, by intimidating the nation's leaders, by purging the Army, by tearing up the Constitution of the German republic." **Justice further emphasizes the "deadly parallel" by recalling how Germany's President, "General von Hindenburg, World War I hero," helped Hitler to power.**

The loudest union alarm about the menace of McCarthyite fascism has been sounded by Labor's Daily, America's only daily labor newspaper, published by the AFL International Typographical Union. In a March 5 editorial, its editors justifiably voice pride in the fact "that we early pointed out the parallel between the rise of McCarthyism in this country and the rise of right-wing dictatorships in Italy and Germany under Messrs. Mussolini and Hitler."

Labor's Daily stresses the need "to impress upon the American Labor Movement, which is an organized, key segment of our people and the most important bulwark of our democracy . . . the reality and comparative immediacy of a danger to labor and to all who love freedom.

That danger is Fascism."

This danger Labor's Daily correctly relates to "one condition, coupled with others but above all others . . . THAT CONDITION IS A DEPRESSION, WITH ITS RESULTANT UNEMPLOYMENT AND MISERY! . . . Fascist-minded demagogs may exploit this situation in order to rise to power. It happened in Italy; it happened in Germany; it can happen here." (Emphasis in original.)

This fascist danger, Labor's Daily feels, "has not been sufficiently described to American workers, nor has the seriousness

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SWP Candidate Gets Impressive Vote in Seattle

SEATTLE, Mar. 10 — **Daniel Rober's, Socialist Workers candidate for the school board, polled 7,301 votes it was announced today. This was about 7% of the total.**

Roberts finished ninth out of 11 candidates. The top candidate polled some 52,000 votes, the runner up, 30,000. The bottom candidate received 4,300 votes.

In final statements over the radio and TV, Roberts declared that the impressive vote he received was a tribute to the firm stand taken by the Socialist Workers Party against McCarthyism, for a Labor Party and for free speech in teaching.

Roberts put on a fighting campaign in the best socialist tradition. He appeared at many union meetings where he attacked the rising fascist movement headed by McCarthy and called on labor to lead the struggle against this danger to America by wielding the powerful weapons of independent political action.

He explained the current fascist danger as a manifestation of the decay of capitalism in America and a warning that labor cannot delay much longer in putting a Workers and Farmers Government in power.

One of the main themes in Roberts' campaign was the need for the unions to take effective action against the growing menace of unemployment.

He likewise stressed the Socialist Workers platform calling for equal pay for women and for job opportunities for youth.

Another Good Name Is "Quietly Put to Death"

A bitter editorial denouncing Senator McCarthy for killing the good name of Annie Lee Moss appeared in the March 6 Afro-American, influential Negro paper:

"The good name of Annie Lee Moss was quietly put to death Tuesday. . .

"An attractive woman sat before the McCarthy committee and a battery of newsreel and TV cameras and charged that Mrs. Moss at one time was a dues-paying member of the Communist Party.

"The woman who made the charge admitted that she did not know Annie Lee Moss. She confessed she would be unable to recognize her if she saw her.

"The only evidence she had was a Communist Party card which showed that someone named Annie Moss had at one time paid dues to the Communist Party.

"But undisturbed by such flimsy evidence Senator McCarthy immediately branded Annie Lee Moss a Communist.

"In a matter of seconds the television cameras flashed it across the airwaves. The telegraph wires recorded it around the world. And the presses of the nation proclaimed it to readers on every street corner.

"And the good name of Annie Lee Moss brutally was put to death without Annie Lee Moss being allowed to utter one word in defense of that name.

"That is McCarthyism."

". . . It would have been so easy to be fair and put Mrs. Moss on the witness stand and allow her to answer the charges as soon as they were made, so that the press could have had

ANNIE LEE MOSS

both sides of the story in their headlines.

"But McCarthyism doesn't operate that way. . .

"This is no attempt to defend Annie Lee Moss. This is a protest against the vicious bludgeoning of time-honored American tradition which holds a person is innocent until the person has been proved guilty.

"Annie Lee Moss, when she does take the witness stand, is an innocent woman in the eyes of the law. No one has yet proved her guilty of anything. She has not even been given a chance, as of now, to even plead guilty.

"But her good name is already dead."

What Is Steel Union's David McDonald Up To?

By Art Preis

What dirty work for the bosses is the CIO steel union's President David J. McDonald up to? While the steel moguls have been laying off some 150,000 steel workers, or more than 10%, McDonald has been on a "good will" tour of U.S. Steel plants with its president, Benjamin Fairless. The only "good will" Fairless will ever have toward the workers is to skin them for every possible nickle of profit.

About the problem of mass unemployment, McDonald is sounding off like Republican National Chairman Leonard W. Hall, who spoke of "left-wingers . . . spreading doom and gloom across the land," or like CIO President Walter Reuther last Labor Day in decrying "dangerous and reckless talk of depression" and "false communist propaganda . . . being bolstered by the prophets of doom. . ."

NOT "HYSTERICAL"

McDonald, who is considered to head the "conservative" wing of the CIO, possibly because he picks up Reuther's wrong positions six months late, declared in Pittsburgh March 3 that he was unperturbed about the present economic decline. **"I refuse to become hysterical about our current economic situation," said McDonald, calmly leaning back on his $25,000 guaranteed annual salary.**

And he added in the current vein of ultra-right Republicanism: "I do not think that the current Socialist line for great big federal projects is the answer. . ." That was a couple of days before Rep. Augustine B. Kelley (D., Pa.) proposed in the House a $6½ billion federal-local public works program.

STEEL OUTPUT FALLS

McDonald expressed his lack of "hysteria" about the economic situation just before the American Iron and Steel Institute reported that steel production for the week of March 8 is scheduled at 68.9% of capacity, down from the previous week's 70.7% and last month's 74.4%.

If McDonald doesn't think the "Socialist line for great big federal projects is the answer" to the economic situation, about which he refuses "to become hysterical" anyway, he nevertheless feels impelled to offer some answer to the unemployment problem already harassing a large part of his own union members. His answer, like Reuther's, is the guaranteed annual wage.

McDONALD

McDonald offers the guaranteed annual wage as nothing less than "insurance against depression" and a "basic answer to the prevention of any depression ever getting under way in America," reports the Feb. Steel Labor. This same article explains at length McDonald's guaranteed wage plan submitted to the Aluminum Corporation of America.

THE PLAN'S GIMMICKS

At the start, McDonald's paper explains this is a **maximum** proposal and that "the union has emphasized that the GAW is a matter for negotiation . . . to be hammered into shape at the collective bargaining table." In short, McDonald is willing to accept even less than his proposed plan. How much less?

First, his plan now covers only employees with "three or more years of service." Younger workers could find themselves out on the street with no protection under the plan. But what's to stop the industry from "hammering" the pliable McDonald and limiting the GWA to four or five-year men?

Those covered by the plan would not get a guaranteed annual wage; only "63% of the annual wage," according to the best figures put forward in the ALCOA plan. Those laid off under the plan would receive the equivalent paid for 30 hours work weekly for up to 52 weeks. The companies would actually lay out only the difference between the 20 hours pay and regular unemployment compensation paid by the government. **This means that more than half of the GAW would be paid for out of government funds to which the workers themselves contribute.**

LIMITS OF "GUARANTEE"

The company would pay into a trust fund 10 cents an hour per worker and its liability to provide a weekly lay-off payment to some workers "would be limited to this cents-per-hour contribution." **Thus, when the fund gives out, the "guarantee" gives out.**

Now what is to keep the companies from firing all the men employed less than three, four or five years, as the actual plan might provide after negotiations, and putting the remainder on a 30-hour week at 30 hours' pay — that is, slashing take-home pay 25%? What in McDonald's plan would keep the corporations from doing precisely what they are doing right now throughout the industry?

In a typical steel area like Youngstown, for instance, in addition to the more than 10% laid off, the majority of those still working are on four and three-day schedules at correspondingly reduced take-home pay. How will the GAW help those laid off and how will it restore take-home pay? McDonald's plan won't.

His plan is in reality a "guaranteed" 30-hour week at 30 hours pay. And it can be only that unless the union fights for and wins a 30-hour week at 40 hours pay. Without that, any GAW program has lots of traps. And any plan offered by a McDonald who thinks big public works are "socialist," needs to be examined with a high-powered microscope

Notebook of an Agitator

Notes on American Fascism

Editor:

I haven't been able to disentangle myself from other preoccupations to send you any connected thoughts on McCarthyism and the probable character and perspectives of American fascism in general. The articles of Breitman are very effective arguments against people who will not recognize incipient American fascism until it obliges them by assuming the "classic" European form. What will they do if American fascism neglects or refuses to accommodate them in this respect, right up to the eve of the showdown — which it may well do?

I will have something to say about the question of American fascism a little later when I get free from some other commitments. In fact, I have scheduled a whole lecture on the probable character and perspectives of American fascism in the projected new series of Los Angeles lectures on "Problems of the American Labor Movement." But it will have to wait. Meantime, I am in basic agreement with the campaign you are conducting and the arguments for it, especially those given in Breitman's articles. I believe these articles would make a good follow-up pamphlet to the first one.

* * *

Those who would judge specific American forms of fascism too formalistically by the European pattern, arbitrarily limit capitalist aggression against the workers' movement to two forms:

They see the democratic form by which the workers are suppressed through strictly legal measures in accordance with the law and the constitution — such as the Taft-Hartley Law, formal indictments and prosecutions for specific violations of existing statutes, etc. All this, despite its obvious "inconvenience" to the workers movement, is characterized as democratic.

On the other side they see the illegal, unofficial forms of violence practiced by "storm troopers" and similar shirted hooligans outside the forms of law, as in Italy and Germany. This is characterized as fascist.

But what about violence which is technically illegal and unconstitutional, but carried out nevertheless by duly constituted officials clothed with legal authority? What about such things as the breaking up of meetings and picket lines by official police and special deputies; wire tapping; inquisitions; screening and black-listing of "subversives;" and all the rest of the intimidation and terror of the witch-hunt? These procedures don't fit very well into the "democratic" formula, although their chief instruments are legally-constituted officials, supported and incited by press campaigns, radio demagogues, etc.

This kind of illegal violence under the outward forms of law has a distinctive American flavor; and it is especially favored by a section of the ruling class which has very little respect for its own laws, and cares more for practical action than for theories as to how it is to be carried out. This is, in fact, an important element of the specific form which American fascism will take, as has already been indicated quite convincingly.

The depredations of Mayor Hague, who announced that "I am the law," were a manifestation of this tendency back in the late Thirties. Trotsky, by the way, considered Hague an American fascist. He described his unconstitutional assaults on free speech and free assembly, through the medium of **official police**, as a manifestation of incipient American fascism. I think he was right about that. If the workers stand around and wait until the labor movement is attacked directly by unofficial shirted hooligans, before they recognize the approach of American fascism, they may find their organizations broken up "legally" while they are waiting.

The truth of the matter is that American fascism, **in its own specific form**, has already a considerable army of **storm troopers** at its disposal in the persons of lawless prosecuting attornies and official policemen who don't give a damn what the constitution says. Incipient American fascism — already, right now — has a press and radio-television power which makes Hitler's "Angriff" look like a throw-away sheet. It has political demagogues, like McCarthy, who are different from Hitler mainly in the fact that they are clothed with official legal powers and immunity, while Hitler had to build up an independent, unofficial and at times persecuted movement without any official sanction, without any direct support from the established press, etc.

"McCarthy is different," say the formalistic wiseacres, as if that were a help and a consolation. He is indeed different in several ways. But the most important difference is that he starts with a great power behind him, and operates with formal legal sanction and immunity. The right comparison to make is not of the McCarthy of today with Hitler on the verge of taking power in 1932 but rather with Hitler in the middle Twenties. The main difference we find in this comparison is that McCarthy is way ahead of Hitler.

* * *

Another point: The German-American Bund of the Thirties was not a characteristic manifestation of American fascism, but rather a foreign agency of Hitler's German movement. Neither is it correct to look now for the appearance of genuine American fascism in lunatic fringe outfits such as the Silver Shirts, Gerald Smith, etc. A powerful section of the American bourgeoisie, with unlimited means at their disposal, **are already fascist-minded**; and they have a big foot in the government, national and local. They feel no need at present of unofficial movements.

To the extent that such outfits will appear here or there, with the development of the social crisis, they will probably be subsumed in a broader, more powerful, adequately financed and press-supported general movement, which operates under more or less legal forms. It is far more correct, far more realistic, to see the incipient stage of American fascism in the conglomeration of "official" marauders represented by McCarthy than outside it.

JAMES P. CANNON
Los Angeles, Calif.

The Attempt to Turn Trotsky's Killer Loose

By Joseph Hansen
Former Secretary to Leon Trotsky

(Prominently featured on the front page, the following analysis of the efforts to free the Stalinist assassin of Leon Trotsky appeared in full in the March 6 issue of El Universal, one of Mexico's leading daily newspapers. El Universal enjoys a reputation in Mexico comparable to that of the N. Y. Times in the United States. — Ed.)

I have before me two clippings relating to the effort of "Frank Jacson," alias "Mornard," the murderer of Leon Trotsky, to secure release from prison in Mexico upon serving only two-thirds of his sentence.

One clipping is from the Dec. 6, 1953, Bombay Chronicle Weekly. The opening paragraph of this long article about the assassin asks: "If he's freed, will avid Trotskyites or the red secret police seal his doom?"

The other clipping is from the Jan. 17 New York Daily Mirror. "Mexican newspapers predicted," it says, that Jacson "would not live long if he ever left his comfortably furnished cell. Bolsheviks, led by Trotsky's widow and grandson, want to get their hands on him to prove Trotsky's dying charge that Stalin ordered his assassination. Russian secret agents reportedly want to seal his lips forever, despite the fact that Mornard kept his secret under torture by Trotsky's followers."

These are but two examples of the rumor that has been systematically planted for some time in Mexico City for world-wide distribution asserting that "Trotsky's followers" would seek to kill Jacson if he were released from prison. Thus, presumably, the Trotskyists approve turning Jacson loose so that they can "get their hands on him." Can there be any doubt that the source of these rumors is Moscow's secret political police itself?

KREMLIN AGENT

This sinister organization has every reason to secure the release of this professional killer. It would prove to other Kremlin police agents that Moscow knows how to look after them, no matter how desperate their plight, so long as they remain faithful. This would complement the opposite object lesson which Moscow has made from time to time — that death awaits those who break ranks and reveal the secrets of the Kremlin.

Of course, this would not preclude another reason for wanting him freed. After the demonstration of springing him from prison, and perhaps even utilizing his peculiar talents in fresh assignments, the Soviet secret police may kill him as Beria was killed, and before him Yezhov and Yagoda. With that sentence of death in mind, it is an obvious and typical move of the Kremlin's agencies to begin charging the Trotskyists well in advance with guilt for the crime. Let us not forget that in the May 24, 1940, machine-gun assault on Trotsky's Coyoacan home, which the Mexican police established was organized and carried out by members of the Communist Party, the Stalinists accused Trotsky — of committing a "self-assault" to "embarrass Mexico."

The fact is that the Trotskyists have no interest in killing Jacson. I will not speak of the Marxist outlook which is opposed to individual assassination and abhors any act done out of "revenge." I will confine myself solely to the political disadvantage to the Trotskyist movement of exacting the supreme penalty from Trotsky's murderer. That would close the possibility of his finally revealing the truth about his connections with Stalin's secret police and the international plot hatched in the Kremlin to murder the great revolutionary leader who was co-founder with Lenin of the first workers' state in history.

COULD HAVE SHOT HIM

I personally could have shot Jacson on Aug. 20, 1940, as he stood in the door of Trotsky's study smeared with blood. I frankly admit that the impulse to do so was strong. But having has some political training, I realized at once that it would be a mistake. Not only did I spare Jacson's life, but I ordered the other guards, who were all armed, not to kill him.

Thus, when Trotsky, lying on the floor, with me and Natalia bending over him, heard Jacson cry out under the vigorous questioning of Harold Robins, and said, "Tell the boys not to kill him; he must talk," I could reassure the mortally wounded foe of Stalin's police regime that this was already taken care of.

In the universal indignation that swept Mexico following the brutal killing of the great man who had generously been granted political asylum by the administration of President Cardenas and who was therefore the honored guest of Mexico, it would perhaps not have been too difficult to "arrange" for the execution of Jacson, possibly while "attempting to flee," but I, along with all other Trotskyists, opposed this. We wanted Jacson to live — in order to talk. We still feel the same way.

That is why, if our opinions about the case are still to be taken into consideration, we think that Jacson should be kept in prison.

Besides our sentiments in the matter, which are based on solid political considerations affecting Trotskyists the world over, there are other reasons of a more general character that seem to me to indicate overwhelmingly the advisability of keeping Jacson in custody.

POWERFUL FRIENDS

It is true that Jacson has powerful friends who will not agree with this conclusion. His attorney is the brother of the Secretary of Education in Mexico, and the Secretary of Education himself has seen fit to send Jacson a letter of "felicitation" on his work in helping to end illiteracy among prisoners. Behind the scenes, of course, stands the secret political police of the Soviet Union. We may be sure that Malenkov himself, one of the principal architects in the infamous Moscow frame-up trials, which were directed chiefly again Trotsky and his program for restoring worker's democracy in the USSR, has a direct interest in Jacson's release.

All these forces picture Jacson as a "model" prisoner, and therefore one deserving "preparatory release" for good conduct.

I will not dispute that Jacson has conducted himself as a "model" prisoner. That is perfectly in character. His aim is clear. He hopes to utilize his model conduct to secure his release without revealing a single one of the important secrets he holds.

Jacson has a certain skill in acting in a "model" way. He was a model husband to Sylvia Ageloff for two years after they met in Paris — not out of love for her, but solely through this model conduct to gain entry into Trotsky's household.

He was likewise a model guest. He shared food with Trotsky and was helpful in small ways — not out of regard or admiration for Trotsky, or friendliness toward him, but solely in order through this model conduct to gain the opportunity of standing behind his back with a pickaxe which he then brought down into his host's skull.

HAS NOT REFORMED

Has Jacson perhaps reformed since 1940? All the facts speak against any such conclusion which Malenkov's secret police would have us accept.

His bid for citizenship in Mexico is a case in point. Who can believe that his main concern in life today is to participate in the campaign against illiteracy and to retire to a life of agricultural pursuits, as he tries to make out? Let us recall that in the first place he did not come to Mexico to become a farmer with an avocation in social welfare work. **He entered Mexico on a false passport as a professional killer with but one objective, to murder Leon Trotsky, the honored guest of the Mexican people.**

Jacson's bid for citizenship is no compliment to Mexico, but simply an astute legal move to avoid revealing where he was born, and therefore where he can be deported to. It is an insult to the Mexican people, who have a right to know what citizenship he wishes to renounce and why.

His powerful backers picture him as a simple prisoner — guilty of nothing but ordinary homicide — and therefore meriting sympathy. Where has he indicated even a shade of regret, or remorse, or desire to make restitution for one of the foulest crimes in history?

CUNNING MOVE

How unrepentant this cold-blooded killer and adroit actor is can be judged by one simple fact: In seeking release, he by-passed the Departamento de Prevencion Social, since he apparently has reason to believe that its records will reveal that at bottom he is the most hardened and dangerous type of murderer. He made his legal bid for release from prison directly to the Secretaria de Gobernacion, where undoubtedly he counts on powerful influences being brought to bear in his behalf.

As for restitution for his unspeakable crime, let it be noted that his calculated legal moves were accompanied — not accidentally we may be sure — by a campaign of slander in the world press against Trotsky's widow. This isolated woman, who has heroically born the murder of two sons, a husband and numberless friends at Stalin's hands, is pictured as seeking the death of a miserable pawn in the international plot engineered by the late monster in the Kremlin!

WOULD ENDANGER NATALIA

Isn't it far more likely that such a case-hardened, professional trigger-man of Moscow's secret police would supplement his murder of the husband by murdering the widow? And for two reasons — out of revenge for Natalia Trotsky's efforts to get him to reveal his secrets and out of the political need of the Stalinist regime to liquidate one of the last survivors of Lenin's generation and the person who was most closely associated with Trotsky.

I am not in position to influence the workings of Mexican justice. I happen to belong to the small, poverty-stricken grouping that advocates the revolutionary socialist program of Leon Trotsky. We have neither money nor influential friends nor state power. We are among the main targets of the witch hunt in the United States that is now giving birth to the McCarthyite fascist movement. I can count only on the concern for fairness and justice which the Mexican people displayed so admirably in offering political asylum to Leon Trotsky when he was pursued by Stalin's secret police and no other country on this planet would grant him entry.

LET HIM SPEAK OUT

It appears to me that Jacson, before being turned loose, should give some genuine indication that he is worthy of trust. The road to earning this trust is not a hard one. He need only speak out and make a clean breast of his crimes.

Let him, for example, tell the Mexican authorities his real identity. Is his name Ramon del Rio Mercader, as the police records of Spain indicate? Yes or no? Was he born in Spain? Is he a citizen of Spain? If not, what country is he from? Why has he persistently refused all these years to divulge this simple ordinary information? When did he become an agent of Stalin's secret police? Why did he choose this strange profession? How did it happen?

Is his mother an old Stalinist as refugees from Franco's regime report? Yes or no? What part did she have in convincing him to enter the service of Stalin's secret police? Where is she now? Is she prepared to confirm his statements? Where is the rest of his family? Are they prepared to confirm his statements? What about his old acquaintances?

Why did he lie about his identity in 1940 when he was arrested for murdering Trotsky? Why has he persisted in this lie to this day? Whose interests is he serving by maintaining this lie?

FALSE PASSPORT

He entered Mexico on a false passport made out to "Frank Jacson," but actually issued to a resident of Canada who perished in the Spanish Civil War. Who doctored this passport? Who, for example, replaced the passport photograph of the dead Tony Babich with Jacson's picture? Where did Jacson have this picture taken? Who gave this false passport to Jacson? What was the source of the considerable sums Jacson used in coming to Mexico? Who pays his lawyers?

What was Jacson's role in the May 24, 1940, machine-gun assault on Leon and Natalia Trotsky? Was he the man above David Alfaro Siqueiros, or was Siqueiros alone in charge of organizing this attempted double murder? Besides the Stalinists apprehended by the police in this case, what others were involved?

WHO KILLED HARTE?

Who killed Robert Sheldon Harte in the May 24 assault? Was it Jacson who put one bullet in the back of the head and another in the temple of the young American guard of Trotsky?. Or was it the Arenal brothers as was alleged at the time? If it was the Arenal brothers, what happened to them after the assault? Were they killed by Stalin's secret police to keep them from talking? Did Jacson carry out this double execution?

What does Jacson know about the murder in Paris sometime in July 1938 of Rudolph Klement, Secretary of the Fourth International and former Secretary of Leon Trotsky? Did Jacson personally murder Klement, decapitate the body and throw it into the Seine river, where it was later found, because Klement stumbled onto Jacson's real identity and connections? (Jacson was in Paris at the time of this killing which has not been solved to this day.)

What was Jacson's exact relation to such figures as Beria and Malenkov? Trotsky had information indicating that Stalin set up a special department with unlimited funds charged solely with preparing his murder. Who was in charge of this department? How did it happen to select Jacson to take charge of the long-planned murder in Mexico? And since Jacson fled from Mexico after the failure of the May 24 assault, what members of this special department did he contact in New York to make his report?

WHAT GUARANTEES?

Finally, since Jacson himself has taken the initiative in seeking his release, he must have received some kind of guarantee from the Kremlin's secret police that he will not be killed. What is the nature of this guarantee? Is it planned to give Jacson a new false passport upon his release from prison, so that he can flee from Mexico and resume his career as a professional killer?

A great responsibility in this matter rests on the Mexican authorities, it appears to me. What a stain upon Mexico it would be if this product of Stalin's gangster machine should lightly be given the opportunity to climax his career by murdering the widow of Trotsky or his grandson or other figures in the working class who have opposed the Stalinist police regime! I have confidence that the Mexican people will know how to prevent such an outcome to this international case so deeply involving the honor of Mexico and the integrity of its justice.

LEON TROTSKY, co-leader with Lenin of the Russian Bolshevik revolution, and his widow, NATALIA TROTSKY. Trotsky was exiled from the Soviet Union by the Stalinist bureaucracy and murdered in Mexico on Aug. 20, 1940, by Stalin's agent, Frank Jacson. Natalia is still living in Mexico.

...McCarthy Blackmails

(Continued from page 1)

represents "a new breed, with a new brand." He is not bound by any of the rules of democratic capitalist politics. He is prepared and eager to destroy that section of the Republican Party that will not submit to his domination.

That's why the present GOP leadership has good reason to be worried. They know that McCarthy is "independent" enough and unscrupulous enough and ruthless enough to blackmail them and to expose them to public scandal if they refuse to submit privately. They also know that now, more than ever, the members of Congress will be looking for their orders to McCarthy rather than to the White House — the very situation that McCarthy set out to create in his battle with Stevens.

HITLER USED IT

Blackmail is a favorite weapon of fascist demagogues. McCarthy, who has studied **Mein Kampf** very carefully, is here taking his cue directly from Hitler, who was also able to make powerful use of the corruption that flourishes among democratic capitalist politicians in order to make them play the Nazi game in critical situations.

It is a well-known historical fact, for example, that in January 1933, when President Hindenburg was under pressure from German Big Business to appoint Hitler as chancellor, Hitler increased the pressure on the still-hesitating Hindenburg by threatening to make public the details of a shady million-mark speculation committed by Hindenburg's son. Blackmail alone does not explain Hitler's triumph, but it was a big help to him all along his road to power.

McCarthy's preparations to utilize this "classic" weapon to gain control of Congress and other departments of the government, regardless of the effects on the fortunes of the Republican Party as such, are another indication of his fascist character.

They are also a warning to the American people of the fallacy of continuing to depend on the corrupt democratic capitalist politicians as a means of stopping the growth of McCarthyite fascism.

What we need are candidates who are free of corruption and who will resist blackmail because they have nothing to be afraid of. What we need is a new party, an independent Labor Party, free of all the unsavory practices and associations that a McCarthy can exploit — a party that will run and elect its own candidates to office, and will provide them with the courage and the support to stand up to McCarthyism, expose it for the fascist menace that it is, and drive it forever out of American life.

...Deadly Parallel

(Continued from page 1)

of the threat been adequately stressed." And it concludes with an especially acute observation: **"We have been so busy chasing Reds that we have sometimes failed to look around to see who is chasing US."**

The Militant is naturally gratified to see such views about the nature of McCarthyism getting wide circulation in the labor movement. Almost four years ago, on April 10, 1950, the Militant sounded the very first warning about McCarthyism as a potential fascist menace. We described the earliest stages of McCarthy's Senate hearings as "a super-witch hunt . . . made to order for the rise of a fascist movement. . . McCarthy's 'technique' . . . is patterned after that of all the social demagogues down to Hitler."

The growing recognition that McCarthyism is American fascism on the march, with the prime aim of smashing organized labor, is encouraging. You can't fight a danger you don't know exists. But if you do know, then how to fight the danger becomes the decisive question. Here neither Labor's Daily, nor Justice, nor Labor appear to have learned the primary lesson of the German and Italian experiences — the most deadly parallel of all.

Hitler and Mussolini secured power by "legal" means through official agents and agencies of government — those very agents and agencies that the German and Italian labor leaders had counted on to save their movements from fascism. The ill-fated German and Italian unions were crushed because their leaders depended on the "democratic" capitalist politicians, rather than on the mass might in action of the organized working class to curb the fascists. These American labor papers we have cited are begging Eisenhower or the Senate or the Democrats to do the job of smashing McCarthyism.

Let them pray that the American workers don't take their advice on how to fight McCarthyism. It's a guaranteed eventual one-way trip to McCarthy's concentration camps. If these union spokesmen really believe that McCarthy is the American Hitler, then their one hope of effectively combatting McCarthyism is to mobilize the ranks of labor for a life-and-death battle. They should organize for independent mass action through demonstrations, strikes and every other means of labor struggle to smash this greatest of evils that is now on the march.

...On Tour Report

(Continued from page 1)

Reuther cooperated with this anti-labor committe, the road was cleared for passage of the witch-hunting, union-busting Trucks Law, without a dissenting vote in the state legislature.

But the Socialist Workers Party fought for its right to run in elections, got back on the ballot and recently won a legal victory when the state Attorney General conceded that there were no grounds for declaring the SWP "subversive."

* * *

FEB. 27 — **This morning Dodge Local 3, UAW-CIO, held a demonstration against unemployment. The Dodge plant employs 33,000 workers. Twenty thousand of them are on the streets.**

I went down to the demonstration and stayed until I had to leave for my meeting this afternoon.

The demonstration which was scheduled at the gate of the Dodge plant was moved to the union hall a block away because of rain. All the seats were taken and every inch of floor space was occupied by standing workers. All the offices and side rooms were packed. Outside in the street additonal thousands came and left.

The immense crowd of auto workers, dressed in their Sunday best, was sprinkled with uniformed groups wearing caps bearing the insignia, "Dodge Local 3 Flying Squadron."

Inside and outside the hall were hundreds of placards. Typical signs read, "$74 million profit for Chrysler, nothing for the worker," "A Public Works Program Now." I saw one that read, "30 years seniority, out on the street."

By patient squeezing and maneuvering I worked my way to standing room in the main hall and listened to the speeches. I was surprised. Somehow this inspiring turnout had led me to expect something suited to the occasion of the first large workers demonstration against the plague of unemployment in Detroit. But no. The officials paraded every local politician of the Democratic Party across the platform.

The mayor of Hamtramck, the town completely surrounded by Detroit where the Dodge plant is located, was speaking when I got into the hall. He proclaimed himself a great "friend of the Dodge Local" and sympathized with their plight.

Following him the sheriff of Wayne county told the workers they want jobs; and they were good Americans.

Then Democratic representatives to the state legislature spoke. They were caustic about the do-nothing policy of the Republican majority. They said they were fighting for better unemployment compensation laws, or at least to prevent the Republicans from weakening the existing laws. But they didn't think they would win. They promised to take their fight to the people. In the meantime they urged the workers to send postcards to the state legislature protesting Republican policies.

It was sad and sickening. One worker standing near me told his friend, "Let's go. I don't want to listen to that bull; I hear it all the time on the radio."

But I wouldn't say all the workers felt that way. It was a patient crowd. They seemed to be down there to see what their union was doing about their terrible plight. I would say they were more puzzled than angered by the performance on the platform.

The 13,000 still working at the plant are on a short two or three day week. A speedup is raging. Some walkouts have taken place.

But I didn't hear about this from the capitalist politicians on the platform. They were picking up votes for the coming elections.

One representative to the state legislature told how a union delegation headed by Reuther went to Lansing, the state capital, to speak to the legislators on unemployment. The delegation was shoved into a "cubbyhole." It was so small Reuther couldn't even stand up to speak. The delegation demanded a room large enough to hold a hearing. They were brusquely refused.

The whole country knows that Reuther can't get an audience with the President who meets with McCarthy any time the fascist senator beckons. But even in Michigan, the stronghold of the UAW, the head of the CIO can't get even polite treatment for a union delegation to the state legislature! **That's a measure of where labor has landed with Reuther's political policy of supporting capitalist parties.**

I left the hall of Dodge Local 3 with mixed feelings. The workers are beginning to move, but their present official leaders are in for a big surprise. The outpouring of these workers in demonstration stood in sharp contrast to the antiquated, outmoded labor officials and capitalist political "friends of labor" on the platform. A new upsurge of labor will inevitably mean a new policy of independent political action and a new leadership.

Miracles

The Ohio Unemployment Service manager says there will be 3,000 people on relief in the town of Lorain by June "unless a miracle happens." Associated Press News Analyst J. M. Roberts says that "the cruel fact of today is that if war between Soviet Russia and the West is avoided even for any considerable number of years it will be a major miracle."

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A "St. George" to the Rescue

The liberals have been combing the Republican and Democratic lists for someone, anyone to lead the fight against McCarthyite fascism.

Some hope to stiffen Eisenhower's backbone, a doubtful project, for it appears that not even a golfing iron could accomplish that miracle. Some have turned hopefully in Senator Fulbright's direction as the only one among the crooks, cynics and cowards that pack the Senate who chose to vote against funds for McCarthy.

As the nation registered a wave of revulsion to both McCarthy and Eisenhower following the Stevens debacle, certain machine politicians pricked up their ears. The revulsion was a sign of polarization against McCarthyism. This, from their viewpoint requires watching — and leadership to keep it from getting out of hand.

And so Stevenson, the 1952 candidate of the Democrats took to the microphones and the TV cameras March 6. He stated a few truths about Republican dependence on McCarthyism and said, "The end result, in short, is a malign and fatal totalitarianism."

A great sigh of relief went up from the liberals. St. George was galloping to the rescue.

The reaction of leading Democratic Senators to Stevenson's bid for leadership of the opposition to McCarthyism was somewhat different, however. They questioned his speech, although anonymously.

William S. White reported one of their reasons — undoubtedly the central one — in the March 9 N. Y. Times: "That the Democrats could not directly attack 'McCarthyism' without being accused of being 'soft to communism' ". . .

That is proof, we submit, that the top Democrats in the Senate actually lean strongly in the direction of McCarthyism. Even if they publicly deplore the methods of the Wisconsin fascist, at heart they are not so finicky. That was why they voted to finance his witch-hunting activities for another year.

In our opinion the liberals will not learn that they cannot depend on either Democrats or Republicans to save them from McCarthy.

But we are strongly convinced that the working people who really believe in defending democracy and freedom will learn the necessary lesson. And the power to stop McCarthyism lies with them. They will surely know how to act in time as did their predecessors in 1776 and 1861.

The exposure of the reaction of the Senate Democrats to Stevenson's speech is one of the small items that will help bring that about.

Lehman and Concentration Camps

On March 1 McCarthy advocated "labor" (read "concentration") camps for "communist" members of the armed forces, as well as those who seek the protection guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment against his "When did you stop committing sabotage?" questions.

The fascist Senator added that the camps should be made "disagreeable" for its inmates. He may have had in mind Hitler's concentration camps where gas chambers were installed to meet the dictator's norm for "disagreeable" conditions.

The ominous nature of McCarthy's latest proposal is underscored by the fact that a network of concentration camps has already been built in the United States. Under the terms of the McCarran-Kilgore law, in any "emergency" these camps can be filled with all those the government thinks "might" commit "sabotage" or "espionage."

The pattern of McCarthy's steadily growing power is in such deadly parallel to Hitlerism that only the blind can fail to recognize it. The menace of McCarthyism has become so apparent that even capitalist politicians who solicit the votes of the workers and minority groups feel compelled to demagogically declaim against it.

An example of such anti-McCarthy demagogy is the Feb. 27 speech of Lehman. "The Congressional inquisitors, the anti-intellectuals, the fear and hate mongers who today threaten the very fabric of our free society (are) the source of our greatest danger," declared the Democratic Senator from New York.

Charging that Eisenhower is afraid of McCarthy, he accused the Republican opponents of McCarthy of offering "appeasement and compromise."

We have no quarrel with these words; but to draw from them the conclusion that Lehman can be counted on to lead a struggle against McCarthyism would be sure suicide.

Lehman's vote in the Senate for funds for McCarthy is a far more decisive indication of his real attitude toward the Wisconsin demagogue than high-sounding words at a banquet.

And finally, while we're talking about concentration camps, let it be indelibly engraved in the mind of every opponent of McCarthyism that one of the leading Democrats who sponsored passage of that section of the McCarran-Kilgore law under which concentration camps have already been built in America was the same Lehman who now offers his "leadership" in fighting McCarthyism.

McCarthy Hits and Runs

Faced with the possibility of cross-examination under oath, Senator McCarthy on March 5 dropped his $2,000,000 libel and slander suit against former Senator William B. Benton, Connecticut Democrat, who had charged on the Senate floor in 1951 that McCarthy was guilty of "perjury, fraud and calculated deceit of the American people." McCarthy tried to withdraw the suit quietly. But when Benton made McCarthy's retreat known, the Wisconsin demagogue claimed he had halted the action because his lawyers could not find anyone who believed Benton's charges.

Too bad McCarthy didn't issue one of his numerous press releases asking anyone who believes the charges to step forward. Probably he was afraid he'd be crushed in the rush. We suspect that McCarthy's mouthpieces didn't try very hard to find such sustaining witnesses. If we had known about it, we could have scraped up a few thousand ourselves.

The Militant published the details of Benton's charges last spring when the Senate committee report confirmed them. We didn't use any qualifying language, like "it is alleged," either. We likened McCarthy to other witch-hunters, such as former Representatives Andrew J. Mays and J. Parnell Thomas, whose anti-"communism" seems always to combine with a taste for the easy, tainted and crooked dollar.

We published the facts about McCarthy's successful solicitation of $10,000 from the Lustron Corporation for a pamphlet on housing that wasn't even written, after McCarthy had proved of aid to Lustron in getting RFC loans, subsequently defaulted. We told of McCarthy's deposits of $172,623.18 from Jan. 1, 1948 to Nov. 12, 1952, while ostensibly drawing down only a senator's salary, and of the $144,501.84 of income going back to 1946 whose source the Senate investigators could not trace. Naturally, McCarthy six times refused to testify before this committee, hiding behind his senatorial immunity.

But when Benton made the facts public, McCarthy in March 1952 dared Benton to forego his senatorial immunity and face a slander suit. Benton accepted the challenge. McCarthy said then he wanted to "get people like Benton on the stand under oath and make them either tell the truth or perjure themselves." But it was McCarthy who feared to take the stand, not Benton.

But the type of misdeeds charged against McCarthy by Benton could be charged against other members of Congress. These in themselves do not make McCarthy any special or unusual menace. In this respect, it would be hard to distinguish McCarthy from most other capitalist politicians, who also represent special private interests and seek to feather their own nests.

Our charges against McCarthy are far graver than mere "perjury, fraud and calculated deceit of the American people," including using his office to line his own pockets. *We charge McCarthy with the aim of establishing a fascist dictatorship in the United States over the crushed bones of the American labor movement.*

The big-money people behind McCarthy aren't embarrassed by his lying, four-flushing and fraud. That helps make him the type they're looking for. It takes a bold and brazen man, a conscienceless demagogue, a ruthless brute capable of any crime, to carry out the fascist program. McCarthy's appeal is to all the shady scum of our society, who hope to ride to power with him and share the loot. They think it clever of McCarthy to evade the witness stand.

As for the honest dupes who follow McCarthy, they are willing to overlook his smelly financial practices because they believe his line that "Communism is the greatest menace" to this country and only McCarthyism can effectively fight "communism." Conversely, the only people who can seriously and effectively fight McCarthyism are those who understand that fascism is the real and hideous danger that confronts America today.

The facts about McCarthy brought to light by Benton can be used with full effectiveness only as part of labor's arsenal in an all-out mass struggle to smash McCarthyite fascism before it smashes us.

An Instructive Case of Political Gangrene

By Joseph Hansen

In a resolution adopted last December, condemning the Socialist Workers Party for its defense of orthodox Trotskyism, the Pabloite minority faction in the Fourth International took up the question of McCarthyism and the campaign which the SWP is waging against it. Here is the full text:

"Moreover, after the expulsion of the minority and the break with the International, this leadership, disavowing with a stroke of the pen its entire struggle against the 'pessimism of the minority,' sounded the alarm on the fascist danger in the United States, 'greater than in 1939,' which it has suddenly discovered in McCarthyism."

I have quoted this in full in order to make Pablo's contribution to the analysis of McCarthyism a matter of public record. Since the contribution can prove confusing unless you are intimately familiar with the issues in the faction struggle now going on in the Fourth International against Pablo's revisionism, permit me to remove the Pabloite husk.

First of all, the minority (meaning 18% of the one-time members of the SWP who made a cult of Pablo) were not expelled. They deliberately sabotaged party activities to provoke a split.

Second, the SWP has not called for any Trotskyist to "break" from the Fourth International. It has on the contrary called on them to defend the Fourth International against Pabloite revisionism and to remove Pablo from office as secretary of the organization.

Third, the SWP leadership has not disavowed its struggle against the pessimism of Pablo's American followers. The health and even the life of the party hinged on the success of that struggle.

That leaves us with the kernel of Pablo's contribution: That the SWP suddenly sounded the alarm about the fascist danger in the United States, that it characterized it as greater than in 1939, and that it discovered it in McCarthyism. We plead guilty to the charge, adding only that we didn't discover the fascist danger "suddenly" as a by-product of the factional struggle as Pablo implies.

FOUR YEARS AGO

We characterized McCarthy's methods as "fascist-like" from the time the Wisconsin demagogue rose to national prominence. In the Militant of April 10, 1950, for example, Paul G. Stevens called attention to the "super witch hunt" set off by the "obscure Senator from Wisconsin." This "marks a certain turning point in political developments in the United States," he observed — almost four years ago! — not so much from what McCarthy has said or done as "from the response" he has evoked.

Noting the tone and depth of this popular response, Stevens declared that no matter what the immediate fate of McCarthyism "it is made to order for the rise of a fascist movement that can quickly overtake traditional capitalist politics in the United States." Stevens even stressed that McCarthy's technique "is patterned with slight variations after that of all the social demagogues down to Hitler."

So far as I am able to ascertain, this was the first article in America to spell out the meaning of McCarthyism.

The Korean war cut across the rise of McCarthyism. Within a few years it flared up again, reaching considerable proportions with the shift of the middle class away from the Democrats. However, while continuing to stress its fascist-like character, we quite correctly did not nail McCarthyism down as actual incipient fascism until the qualitative turn on the political scene last November proved objectively that a new fascist movement of menacing proportions had coalesced around the Wisconsin witch hunter. (See the Dec. 7 Militant.)

So much for the record. Now what is Pablo's position? Does he agree that McCarthyism is fascism? Or does he disagree? Yes or no? Pablo stands mouth open, finger pointed dramatically at the audience . . . and the curtain comes down.

NOT INTERESTED?

Perhaps Pablo is not interested in McCarthyism because it is an obscure question of no interest to anyone except hair-splitting sectarians. The fact, however, is that it is the most burning political question in the United States, if not the world, one so heated today that it is impossible to pick up a daily paper that does not scream about it in the headlines.

Republicans, Democrats, liberals — all are seething over the issue. Not a single commentator, serious or otherwise, is able to avoid discussing it. It is the major problem facing the White House and Congress. Wall Street's satellite powers are alarmed over it. The entire labor movement is discussing it, passing resolutions on it, indicating in a thousand ways the rank and file fear over the threat.

Perhaps Pablo is too far from the scene and doesn't care to venture an opinion on a problem he is not intimately familiar with. But this hypothesis, despite its attractiveness, likewise contradicts the facts unfortunately. Pablo is not noted for any reluctance about working out in elaborate detail even day-to-day tactical recipes for no matter what party in no matter what part of the globe on no matter how obscure, delicate, and complex a problem.

It is possible of course that Pablo decided in this case to delegate the theoretical appraisal of McCarthyism to his followers in the United States. This would be reasonable enough since this contingent of the cult pride themselves on their shrewd capacity to keep in "touch with political reality" in contrast to the "sectarian" SWP leadership who have "lost touch."

RISE TO THE OCCASION

And sure enough, the American Pabloites have actually elaborated the pregnant suggestion of the cult head recorded above for posterity. In the very first issue of their magazine, Geller took up the theoretical challenge in an article, "McCarthyism — the Threat and Answer."

"McCarthy's increasing boldness and growing power have generated a considerable discussion about the nature of the beast in labor and liberal circles," he writes. Good. We lean back to hear the Pabloite wisdom about to be injected into the "considerable discussion" on the nature of the beast. "There is unfortunately a lot of confusion about the problem and how to meet it," he continues. Our interest is whetted all the keener — Geller is about to remove the confusion. **"Is McCarthy a rising American Hitler?" he asks. Is McCarthyism an American version of fascism?"**

Well? Like Pablo the speaker suddenly halts, mouth open. The curtain begins to descend as in the case of Geller's leader. Unlike Pablo, however, the orator manages to get out a few more words: "We intend to return to a discussion of this problem. . ."

CLARKE PICKS UP HINT

He didn't return to it in the following issue. Instead, theoretician Clarke picked up the thought-provoking hint of the cult head. Clarke's elaboration is that 3,000 miles away across the Atlantic in Europe some people think Americans are particularly susceptible to communism and unless constantly alarmed by McCarthy are "liable to slip into its embrace almost any day. Others believe that fascism has already triumphed here." What Clarke believes about it, however, is left to the imagination of the audience as they stare at the transfixed theoretician and the swiftly descending curtain.

In the third issue of the American Pabloite magazine there is not a single article about McCarthyism. That's right, not one.

Meanwhile, McCarthy moved from the witch hunting of Truman to an attack on Eisenhower. He scored fresh triumphs in infiltrating the government bureaucracy. Congress with two lone exceptions voted funds for the witch-hunting committees. McCarthy moved for control of the military caste. A great political crisis shook the Republican Party from top to bottom. The whole world turned apprehensive eyes on the mounting power of the Wisconsin fascist. One of the biggest political controversies in decades, that has filled the papers, the radio, TV for almost half a year, reached a new paroxysm. The Pabloites, however, in the first three issues of their magazine held their tongues with admirable firmness in the face of all this provocation.

How are we to account for such spectacular loss of "touch with political reality?"

The political gangrene evident in Pabloite thinking about McCarthyism is due to doctrinairism. Pablo holds to the doctrine that World War III is due in 1953 or maybe 1954 plus or minus. The prospective atomic war, he maintains, does not threaten the existence of civilization. On the contrary, it will assure the victory of socialism. That's the doctrine.

From this we may surmise that the cult head expects McCarthyism will be halted short, either by the war or by the victory of socialism. So why bother to analyze such an evanescent political formation?

It is simon-pure doctrinairism. Not even the Socialist Labor Party is guilty of such total loss of touch with political reality. This is understandable since the SLP at least has the problem of talking to voters while the Cochranites have no problem of action. They have narrowed their perspective to nothing but offering wise comments. **The logic of that is to abstain from even commenting if you lose confidence in your wisdom.**

The irony of it is that Pablo did not originate the theory of the headlong rush of American imperialism toward World War III. That theory was developed by the leadership of the SWP at the close of World War II. Briefly stated, the thesis is that all the economic and political forces of capitalism now tend toward plunging the world into another war at incomparably greater speed and intensity than after World War I.

It was stated in headline form in the famous first issue of the Militant following V-J Day: "THERE IS NO PEACE! Only World Socialism Can Save Mankind from Atomic Destruction in Another Imperialist War. Workers of America! You Must Take Power into Your Own Hands!" (See the Militant, Aug. 18, 1945.)

This thesis was resisted by Pablo until the Third World Congress in 1951 when he officially accepted it. In accepting it, however, it is now clear that he made a caricature of it. The Pabloite doctrine leaves out the possibility of counterforces, aroused by the very drive toward war, coming into play and slowing down the process if not stopping it, opening up interims of "cold peace" in which we might see a temporary deal with the Soviet bloc and in which such phenomena as a fascist movement in America and a struggle against it can come to the fore. It is a typical error of non-dialectical thought.

PARALYZING PESSIMISM

Behind the Pabloite doctrine of an early atomic war ushering in socialism there lies another doctrine — the paradoxical conviction that the American working class is incapable of moving in time to block another war or of seriously impeding it in any way. This view stems from the profound pessimism we long ago noted particularly in the American followers of Pablo.

If it is true, as they feel, that the American working class is incapable of making a socialist revolution in time, and a **fascist** threat arises, then isn't it certain that fascism will triumph? And if fascism triumphs in America, doesn't that mean the likelihood of civilization going down in unspeakable barbarism? That perspective is so frightening that the Pabloites prefer to shut their eyes to the real meaning of the rise of McCarthy.

Thus blinded to reality by their doctrine, they are incapable of fighting McCarthyism, or of working out ways and means of fighting it. That is why it is not an epithet but an accurate characterization to label their approach to McCarthyism as **political gangrene.**

In the classical pattern of dyed-in-the-wool doctrinaires, the Pabloites seek to save their doctrine in the face of a political reality that cruelly crosses it. They hope that events will somehow come to their rescue. So they maintain silence, trying to fob us off with the vague promise of returning to "a discussion of this problem."

In contrast to this bankrupt course, the Socialist Workers Party proceeded in the orthodox Trotskyist manner to make a rounded Marxist analysis of the political reality. And in the orthodox Trotskyist manner the analysis of the McCarthyite fascist movement was not left at the theoretical level but promptly converted into action.

The impact of the anti-McCarthyite campaign of the SWP on the liberal and labor movement in America is self-evident to anyone who closely follows the liberal and labor press. As for the Pabloite wiseacres, they stand at the side lines, mouths open, a perfect example of sectarian impotence.

C. P. Reaffirms Support Of Capitalist Politicians

By Harry Ring

The "new" program of the American Communist Party, announced in the March 7 Worker, continues the line elaborated at the end of 1952 of open support by the Stalinists to the Democratic Party.

At that time, the Stalinists declared that formation of the Progressive Party in 1948 was a serious error since "there is no immediate outlook for a mass popular desertion of the Democratic Party."

Dashing the hopes of all those like the American Pabloites who declared that the 1952 CP election policy was merely a "right oscillation within the framework of a left turn," and that fundamentally the Stalinists "can go only to the left" and "can no longer betray," the new draft of the Stalinists reaffirms the turn to the Democrats: "To unite a new political majority for 1954 and 1956 requires a recognition that the two party system remains the force through which the overwhelming majority of the American people express themselves in politics."

The CP leadership base their perspectives not on the needs or interests of the American workers, but solely on the continuing efforts of the Kremlin bureaucracy to get a deal with Wall Street. Thus they brush aside the urgent need of breaking with the capitalist two-party system and launching an independent Labor Party so urgently needed to combat McCarthyite fascism, the developing depression and the drive towards World War III.

In face of the abject capitulation of both the Democratic and the Republican parties to McCarthyism, the manifesto insists that "The key to the crucial 1954 and 1956 elections lies in the ability of the organized labor movement to come forward as a distinct political force within the two-party system."

The Stalinists thus renew their effort to deliver the workers into a treacherous alliance with the capitalists. It was precisely such perfidious class-collaborationist politics that led to the victory of fascism in Europe.

The CP leadership falsely asserts that "No one group can achieve these things" (jobs, peace, etc.) What is needed, the workers are informed, is "a popular coalition movement which unites labor, the working farmer, the Negro people, small and middle business, **and those groups of capital opposed to the McCarthyite program of fascism and war.**" (My emphasis.)

IN PRACTICE

What such a "coalition" policy means in practice was previewed in last year's New York mayoralty contest. The Stalinists knifed the American Labor Party candidate to help "labor's candidate," Democrat Robert Wagner, whose victory reestablished the reactionary rule of Tammany Hall.

In the ranks of the unions the Stalinist policy of "penetrating" the Democratic Party will lead them to aid and support the reactionary union officialdom in beating down every move toward independent labor politics.

The "new" program is most clearly revealed in its foreign policy statement as an unbroken continuation of the old Stalinist line of betrayal. The key to world peace is claimed to be, as in Stalin's day, acceptance of the "principle of peaceful coexistence between the capitalist USA and the socialist Soviet Union."

That's the counter-revolutionary opposite of Lenin's course which was to fight for the abolition of war-breeding capitalism. The dupes of Stalinism are again told to accept the completely false premise that the war drive of U.S. imperialism flows not from its reactionary need to smash the Soviet Union and revolutionary China, but simply from "the refusal of the ruling class to accept this new relationship of forces in the world."

BACK TO FDR

This situation can be rectified, it is asserted, by "a return to President Roosevelt's policy of big power negotiation and agreement." There is no reference of course to the fact that it was precisely the Roosevelt-Stalin "agreement" that led to the reactionary division of Germany, and the slashing in half of the Korean peninsula which led inexorably to the civil war for reunification. **Can there be any question that such "agreements" in the future can be reached only at the expense of the colonial peoples and world working-class movement?**

Continuing to bolster the utopian pacifist illusion that explosive arms races can be eliminated from capitalism in its death agony, the authors of the draft proclaim, "What is needed is a world ban on the use of the atom bomb and an agreement for a drastic reduction of all armaments."

The draft program is one more proof, in what is now an almost infinite series, that painting the Communist Party as a revolutionary organization working for the abolition of capitalism does the Kremlin's American agency a real injustice. The unfortunate fact is that precisely when the social crisis of capitalism has become so acute that it can be resolved only by the establishment of a Workers and Farmers Government, the Stalinists again declaim that the American workers "are not prepared to accept socialism as the way out."

They insist that fascism will not be defeated in America until "progressive Americans begin to realize that Communism is not the issue in this country today or in the near future."

But this misses the whole cause of fascism. As a manifestation of the economic and social rot of capitalism, fascism can be defeated only by offering a genuine alternative. Capitalism is incapable of offering this alternative. It can come only through establishing socialism with its scientifically planned economy. Thus socialism is the crucial issue right now and in the near future.

NOTE FASCIST DANGER

It is true that the program notes that the "danger of McCarthyism, of American fascism, is real, grave and growing." But this makes their position all the more criminal, for to recognize this carries as an inescapable corollary: **The necessity for socialism is real grave and growing.**

The new declaration of Stalinist policy makes a number of correct observations as to the reactionary role of Wall Street, and its government at home and abroad. It speaks of the need in general for a farmer-labor party and government. It declares socialism to be the only ultimate solution to America's problems. In context, however, this constitute nothing but left phraseology aimed at appeasing a rank and file disturbed over the crass class-collaborationist policy advocated by the leadership.

For a political movement to correctly declare that "socialism alone would end the scourge of unemployment, racial discrimination, fascism and war," and in the same breath to assert that it steadfastly refuses to make any effort to win the American people to that program which can "alone" resolve their problems, constitutes a betrayal of the socialist program to which it professes to adhere.

"As the American people succeed in electing a new administration and blocking the immediate menace of fascism and war, a new stage in the struggle will begin to unfold . . . then the perspective of subsequently electing a farmer-labor government will begin to arise." The catch to this line is that if the American workers take it for good coin and make the tragic error of sticking to capitalist politics, they will end up in concentration camps long before the "new stage" arrives.

For our part, we remain convinced that the American workers, contrary to the advice of both the Stalinists and labor bureaucrats, will cut loose from the capitalist parties and take the road to socialism.

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THE MILITANT

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The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

Neither Eisenhower nor McCarthy!

"The important decision before the American people today," Walter White told a Long Island NAACP audience March 4, "is the choice between the leadership of President Eisenhower and that of Senator McCarthy."

That, we submit, is a confession of bankruptcy by Mr. White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and an admission that he is incapable of providing leadership for the Negro people he supposedly represents.

The first need in leading the struggle of the most oppressed group in America is the ability to see what the main problems facing them are, and to tell the truth about them. By stating the problem as Eisenhower vs. McCarthy, Mr. White leads only to the road of defeat that the German people took when they listened to leaders who told them the choice was a capitalist lesser evil or Hitler.

The truth is that there is no fundamental difference between McCarthy and Eisenhower. Both want to perpetuate the capitalist system with its Jim Crow features, its wars, its depressions, and all its other evils — at any cost. Their only disagreements are tactical, by what means they can best preserve it.

Neither Eisenhower, nor McCarthy — nor the Democrats both are willing to attack today — give a damn about the Negro people. And Mr. White knows it, unless he's kidding himself as well as others.

As a matter of fact, the Negro question is only a political football for all capitalist politicians, to be picked up, kicked around, or dropped as expediency or momentary advantage suggests.

For example, Eisenhower, Taft, and the rest of the leading Republicans stated flatly in the last presidential election campaign that they were opposed to Fair Employment Practices legislation.

McCarthy, on the other hand, voted for measures the NAACP considered in support of FEPC!

This by no means indicates that McCarthy is interested in the advancement of the Negro people — only that he considered it advantageous in his struggle for power against other segments of the capitalist class to *use* the FEPC issue.

Hitler, you will recall, also promised everything to the German people defeated in war, oppressed by foreign and native capitalists, by unemployment and insecurity. He used every political football he could in his drive to power — only to shackle the people with fascist barbarism once he achieved his goal.

If the Negro people are to advance in the struggle for full equality, and take their rightful place among the leadership that will save the American workers from the fate of Europe, new leaders must come forth to replace the bankrupts like Walter White, who learned nothing from the tragic experience of Germany and Italy. New leaders with the understanding and courage to say: "Neither Eisenhower nor McCarthy! The decision facing the American people is socialism or fascism!"

That Servant Problem

By Joyce Cowley

Everyone's worried these days about rising unemployment, or that's what I thought until I saw a letter in the N. Y. Herald Tribune from a New Hampshire housewife who is not worried at all. She has evidently waited a good many years for this day and at last has the satisfaction of seeing these unemployed workers get exactly what they deserve.

"Not so long ago," she writes, "when World War II began, millions of housewives woke up and with our breakfast coffee received notices from innumerable Lenas, Marys and Annas. At first we were perplexed. We could hardly believe that our worthy maids and cooks would exchange their comfortable household jobs with the rigors of a war plant or factory. But they did."

Not only that, but — "They visited us on occasion and told us of 'time-and-a-half' and 'sick benefits' and 'vacation with pay.'"

But this housewife and her friends, coming no doubt from sturdy pioneer stock, were not dismayed.

"We polished silver easily and beautifully and enjoyed the fact that we could use our fine old pieces again — as during Anna's reign we had to pack them away. Too much work for the poor dear. Miraculously our china stopped breaking and our glass remained intact. Our husband could linger for hours at the dinner table without being nudged to get up and 'let Anna clear the table.' Guests could come at all hours and find a warm welcome.

"What has this happy development in our lives to do with the mournful unemployment and depression talk? Only this. We shall never again employ the women who so grossly abused our patience, kindness and generosity. The economists had better face up to the fact that the former maids and cooks are today's and tomorrow's unemployed."

I can't help wondering just how Anna "grossly abused" this woman. By quitting her comfortable 80-hour a week job for the rigors of overtime pay, sick leave and vacations? But the letter states emphatically that Anna really did her a favor by giving her the chance to polish the silver herself. Or did Anna's abuse consist of clearing the table too promptly so that she could spend a few hours with her own family or go to a movie?

I don't know what this vindictive housewife did with her time before she learned to cook and wash dishes, but while she's been studying household arts, Anna, Mary and Lena have learned a few things, too.

They learned how to use tools and run machinery. They learned how to read blueprints and make electrical installations. They watched a giant jet take off with a feeling of excitement and pride because they helped to build it. They learned how to struggle against the boss. They joined unions, went on strike, walked picket lines alongside the men in their shop.

I don't think the lady in New Hampshire will find too many of them at her door, eager to take up a mop and pail again. They're more likely to be down at the union hall, hollering for a 30-hour week with 40 hours pay. They'll be fighting to build their own political party, fighting the whole economic system that creates depressions and unemployment.

And if any of the housewives who took over in the kitchen get tired of cookbooks and silver polish, Anna and Mary and Lena will be first class mechanics, who can show a new girl the ropes.

Notes from the News

NEGRO-KILLING SHERIFF BEATS RAP. Sheriff Jenkins Hill, of Clark County, Ala., who shot Moses Jones, the principal witness against him in a bootlegging-protection racket, has been acquitted of the killing on grounds of "self-defense." He was also exonerated of a bribe-taking charge.

* * *

LIKENS McCARTHY TO HITLER. The noted educator, Robert M. Hutchins, former Chancellor of the University of Chicago, declared in a speech at Greencastle, Ind., Feb. 26, that McCarthy is "the most frightening figure" since "the emergence of Adolph Hitler."

* * *

THE SANCTITY OF PRIVATE PROPERTY is not widely accepted in the world, the vote at a recent session of the UN's Human Rights Commission indicates. The U.S. representative on the Commission was quite stunned when her declaration on the subject was rejected 12 to 2 as "unrealistic." Qualifications to that right, such as the right of expropriation, would have to be added, said the Australian delegate. Similar views were expressed by representatives of India, Egypt, Lebanon, the Philippines, Uruguay and the Soviet Union.

* * *

LINING HIS POCKETS. According to the Lorain, Ohio, Labor Leader of March 6, fascist Senator McCarthy is now one of the highest paid lecturers in the country. They report that for a speech to the Cicero Manufacturers Assn. in Chicago, in which "Mainly he thumped his chest righteously about what a great job he was doing as a Commie hunter," he received $1,500.

* * *

"FAIR-MINDED ANTI-COMMUNISM" NOT DOING WELL. The Social Democratic magazine, the New Leader, has issued an urgent appeal for funds, explaining that the printer, paper supplier and binder have not been paid for two months. They urge contributions from those who "need its brand of tough-minded — yes, and fair-minded — anti-communism and liberalism."

* * *

"SOME KIND OF A RECESSION" HAS HIT NEW YORK, declared Relief Commissioner McCarthy, who reported March 7 that 1,000 people a week have been added to the city's relief rolls since Dec. 1 of last year. 191,000 workers are officially listed as unemployed as against 122,000 at the same time last year. Among the hardest hit are the city's Puerto Rican workers. Almost 10% of them have now been forced to subsist on the city's miserably low relief standards. McCarthy pointed to the amendments of two years ago to the State Unemployment Insurance law which denied benefits to many low-paid and seasonal workers as largely responsible for the increase in relief applications.

* * *

OPPOSE K. OF C. JIM CROW. An inter-racial group of Catholics, who have been denied a charter by the Knights of Columbus, are appealing to Bishop Cigognani, the Pope's emmisary in Washington to intervene with the K. of C. leaders to end the rigid Jim Crow setup.

* * *

BARUCH-McCARTHY CONFAB. Senator McCarthy held a 45 minute meeting in New York March 9 with Bernard M. Baruch, often described as the nation's "elder statesman," and as the "advisor to Presidents" since 1917. Queried by the press as to the nature of the meeting, the usually voluble McCarthy said, "I'm afraid I'll have no comment on that."

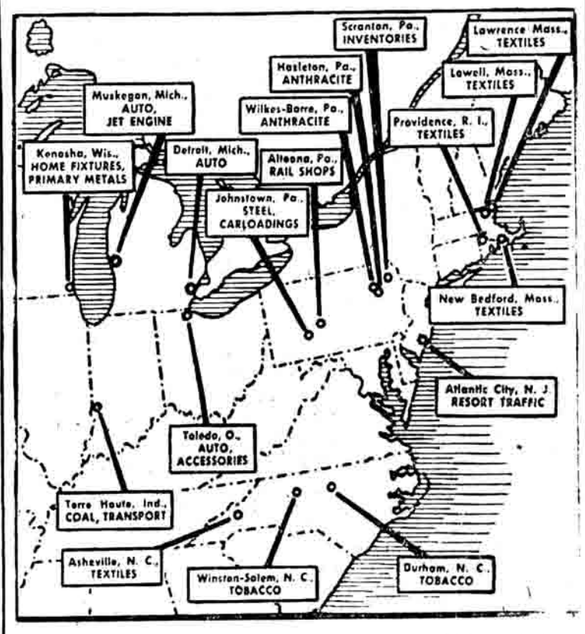
* * *

DREW PEARSON REPORTS in his March 2 column: "Fifteen years ago the American people were plagued with such breeders of dissension as Gerald Winrod, Fritz Kuhn, Wm. Dudley Pelley, and others who spread hate and poison among their fellow men. Today, the Winrods have come out of their holes again and are spreading the same kind of poison. The names are different now — Col. William, Gerald L. K. Smith, the Liberty Belles, the Minute Women. Some of them, such as the boycotting women of Texas who prevent any point of view but their own from being discussed, probably don't realize how they are being used."

* * *

NEGRO ARMY TRAINEES stationed near West Point are forced into position of "boot-lickers, shoe-shine boys and servants" for white cadets, charged Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D., N. Y.) in an open letter to Defense Sec'y Wilson.

"Distressed" Areas



Shown on this map are some of the areas which the Labor Dept. has listed a "distressed" cities. These are in Group 4. Such a designation is given to an area if more than 6% of its labor force is jobless. Government figures list more than 3,000,000 unemployed, but actual total is nearer to 5,000,000.

Ask Help to Save Wells From Cal. Gas Chamber

By Bill Kent

LOS ANGELES, Mar. 4 — Wesley Robert Wells, victim of society's combined injustices, is scheduled to die in San Quentin's gas chamber April 9 for the "crime" of throwing a cuspidor at a prison guard.

The guard was not killed, but under a heretofore unused state statute, the death penalty is mandatory for a life-term prisoner who assaults a guard "with malice aforethought."

Wells was serving an indeterminate sentence of from five years to life at the time of the incident. He has denied there was either "malice" or "forethought" in his action. Two prison psychiatrists have substantiated his claim, but they were not permitted to testify at his trial.

Only hope for the condemned 44-year-old Los Angeles Negro is the possibility that Gov. Knight of California may grant a reprieve, but as yet Knight has given no indication that he plans to intervene.

Many individuals, including the judge who sentenced Wells to prison for stealing an automobile, the psychiatrist who examined him just before and after the cuspidor incident, ministers, rabbis, Negro leaders — and a few unions — have recently urged the governor to spare Wells' life. A mass meeting in his defense is planned at the Victory Baptist church here Sunday.

But these voices can well go unheeded and the death sentence be carried out, unless the union movement and the Negro communities throughout the country are aroused to protest and make their voices heard.

Wells' case is a striking example of the cruelty of capitalist society. Born in poverty and raised in the Negro ghetto, he drifted into petty theft to obtain food and a few of the pleasures of which life had deprived him. Thrown into prison at an early age, he experienced the brutal venality of the prison system, especially cruel where a Negro is concerned. Since his first conviction, he has spent more time in jail than in the outside world. Now he faces death within 30 days under a law that has never before been enforced.

PSYCHIATRIST'S PLEA

Dr. Burt F. Howard, dean of California prison psychiatrists, has written Gov. Knight: "If Wesley Robert Wells is executed. . . I shall feel that I am partly to blame for his death. . .

"As a psychiatrist of half a century of experience and because of my private interviews with Wells just before and after the (cuspidor) episode, I am qualified to dispute the statement 'that a commutation of sentence for Wells would mean a condemnation to death of some other prisoner or guard.' He was not a 'wild animal' in either of these interviews. . . I could detect nothing but a real man, more sinned against than sinning.

"He was conditioned from an early age of orphaned childhood to courageously resist jim crow while struggling to make a precarious living. Unspeakable plots and cruelties practiced against him would have killed a weaker man. Racial hatred and legalistic red tape have robbed him of the consideration due a human being."

JUDGE SPEAKS UP

United States District Judge Louis E. Goodman, in San Francisco, has stated: "The death sentence imposed upon petitioner . . . is invalid under the 14th Amendment to the Constitution. . . In the true and historic sense the petitioner was not accorded due process."

Dr. Marcel J. Frym, criminologist and member of California Attorney General Brown's Advisory Committee for Crime Prevention, said: "I do not usually respond to requests for intercession in cases of impending execution. But when my attention was called to the case of Wesley Robert Wells, I felt that I should . . . request the granting of executive clemency."

FEARED FOR HIS LIFE

Both Dr. Howard and the San Quentin prison doctor have sworn that Wells was out of his mind with fear for his life just prior to and immediately after the cuspidor incident and was incapable of "premeditated" assault. **Sworn affidavits from two of the jurors who convicted Wells reportedly state that they would have voted against conviction had they heard the doctors' testimony.**

Wells was condemned to die in August, 1944. On appeal, the U.S. District Court reversed the death sentence, and held that the Califorina Adult Authority, in failing to set a definite sentence, had acted deliberately to make it "possible to impose the death penalty upon him."

The California Supreme Court later ruled the trial judge had erred in refusing to admit the testimony of prison doctors, but it reinstated the death sentence. The United States Supreme Court has twice refused to review the case.

It is late — but not yet too late — for a united protest of workers and minorities to prevent the execution of Wesley Robert Wells. He should not be permitted to die — but he will be put to death April 9 unless action is taken now.

Chicago Negroes Schedule March On City Hall

CHICAGO, Mar. 5 — Plans for a protest march on City Hall by Negroes March 19 were announced today by a group of South Side civic, business and clergy leaders. The protest is aimed at getting action from Mayor Kennelly to put a stop to continual acts of racial violence, particularly at the Trumbull Park housing project.

Repeated demands for action, said Oscar C. Brown, Sr., chairman of the Chicago Negro Chamber of Commerce, have "been thrown into the waste basket."

He added that "It ought not be necessary for us to track through spow and ice to get the city fathers to do what the law requires them to do."

On Feb. 26, James Durkin, international representative of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union suggested that police question Joseph Beauharnais, founder of the White Circle League, about the continued violence against Negroes at the Trumbull Park Homes. The mayor, however, was "too busy" to see the delegation he headed.

BAY AREA UNIONS PRAISE KUTCHER'S BOOK, "CASE OF LEGLESS VETERAN"

SAN FRANCISCO — James Kutcher's book, The Case of the Legless Veteran, practically ignored by the capitalist press, is beginning to receive publicity in the labor press here. The latest review is in the Feb. 26 issue of Organized Labor, official paper of the San Francisco Building and Construction Trades Council. Earlier reviews were in the East Bay Labor Journal, official publication of the Alameda County AFL Central Labor and Building and Construction Trades Council, and Spark Plug, official paper of Chevrolet Local 1030, UAW-CIO. The Organized Labor review, under the title "You Might Find It Interesting," reads as follows:

(Note: The opinions expressed here are those of the reviewer of this book and do not reflect the editorial opinions of Organized Labor or the San Francisco Building Trades Council.)

Modesty is a rare quality among writers; so rare that it is hard not to warm to an author who begins his book (The Case of the Legless Veteran, $1) as does Mr. James Kutcher:

"In most respects I am an ordinary man. I have no special talents. I never showed any capacity for leadership. In school my marks generally put me in the middle sections of the class, sometimes lower. I never rose above the rank of Pfc in the Army. Often, when I get into a discussion, I don't think of the right point to make until hours afterward. I was active in a political organization for over ten years and never made a speech in all that time. I am a 'Jimmy Higgins' by nature, the fellow who collects tickets at the door and sweeps up the hall after a meeting. People like me generally get their names into the papers twice, when they come into the world and when they go out."

The truth, of course, is that Mr. Kutcher is not a professional writer. He is a man who would most likely never have taken the cover off a typewriter unless he had experienced two crushing blows in his life.

The first was that he lost both legs in the Battle of San Pietro in Italy in 1943; the second was that he was discharged from his job with the Veterans Administration in Newark, New Jersey in 1948 after having been charged by the VA Loyalty Board with being a member of the Socialist Workers Party. He made no secret of this membership. The American Legion, no sympathizer (one would think) with the SWP, found this persecution of Kutcher too much for it to take, its National Americanism Commission remarking: "His job in the VA was definitely non-confidential or sensitive. . . The Kutcher case is therefore an almost perfect example of bureaucratic bungling in how not to handle a doubtful loyalty case."

The Washington Post, in the course of a long editorial on the Kutcher case, raised one of the most relevant questions concerning this humble victim of the madness of his time:

"One cannot help wondering," the Post's editorial comments, "why the United States goes to so much trouble to punish James Kutcher. The loyalty program is supposed to protect the national security. But the national security needs no protection from a legless file clerk working in the Newark branch of the Veterans Administration. The punishment of Mr. Kutcher serves no national interest. It serves no interest save vindictiveness. And Mr. Kutcher is made a target of this vindictiveness solely because he entertains certain unorthodox and unpopular political opinions."

Those of us who, perhaps because of early religious training, tend to think of martyrs as extraordinary persons looming up as tall as their terrible fates, will get a shock from Kutcher's book. This is the martyrdom of Mr. Everyman; all he has known are depression, war, grievous wounds, a little companionship in unorthodoxy; and now his country, in whose service he became a man dependent on artificial legs, whisks away the tiny bit of security he had to find him a pariah.

What must he think of us, who permit this to happen? His book answers this question. It is better than an intelligent answer; it is a compassionate one. He forgives us, God help him.

How Can McCarthyism Be Defeated?

By Fred Hart

The Stevens fiasco produced a veritable rash of "plans" for stopping McCarthy. Most of them didn't even begin to grapple with the problem.

Most of the daily press turned to Eisenhower. The President must take a stand, they solemnly asserted, forgetting they had said the same thing a week earlier about Stevens, only to be plunged into gloom when Stevens' stand proved to be grist for McCarthy's mill.

So Eisenhower called a press conference and took a stand. It was a weasel-worded statement, typical of the many Eisenhower has made about McCarthy since the 1952 campaign, full of generalities and carefully avoiding even a mention of McCarthy's name. It changed exactly nothing, and detracted exactly nothing from McCarthy's growing power.

James Reston of the N. Y. Times said Eisenhower "turned the other cheek" and McCarthy, "always an obliging fellow, struck him about as hard as the position of the President would allow."

A Newark News editorial protested that it was no use for Eisenhower to be sending "perfumed notes" to McCarthy.

Herblock, the gifted cartoonist, summed up the situation with a few strokes of his pen. He showed McCarthy, with a meat cleaver in his hand, smirking at Eisenhower, who was drawing from a sheath at his side not a sword but a big white feather, and telling McCarthy, "Have a care, sir."

CAN SAY GOOD-BY

Eisenhower was more dignified than Stevens, but the effect was not different. The Alsops, who have been trying to egg the White House into a fight with McCarthy, were forced to write after the Eisenhower statement: "If the President permits just one more major appeasement of Sen. McCarthy, he can say good-by to his own authority in his administration, in his party and in the Congress."

Other stop-McCarthy proposals include the suggestion that all congressional committees be required to adopt rules that will make them abide by "fair play and democratic procedure." The Republican leadership is considering the drafting of such rules, originally demanded by liberals like Lehman and Morse.

"LARGELY MEANINGLESS"

But in the first place it is openly admitted that these rules will be "recommended" to the committee chairmen, including McCarthy, and that the chairmen will have the option of accepting or rejecting them. As columnist Doris Fleeson wrote March 4, **"the current uproar over reform of Senate procedures is largely meaningless. A committee chairman runs his show and his powers are, in practice, almost limitless."**

And in the second place, she noted, "The fact is that McCarthy's committee has one of the finest sets of operating rules in Congress. If he followed them, all would be well."

But the point is that he doesn't follow them, and won't. The anti-McCarthyites hope to be able to persuade him somehow to operate within the framework of accepted democratic and parliamentary procedure. But McCarthy will not do that any more than Hitler did. **His aim is to overthrow all democratic institutions, not preserve them.**

Then there is the bill introduced by Rep. Javits, the New York Republican liberal, which would set up a 14-man joint Senate-House committee to supplant the present McCarthy, Jenner and Velde committees and to carry on their anti-communist work in a more "responsible" manner.

A majority of Congress might privately favor such a bill, but they haven't the nerve to pass it. This was proved beyond all doubt last month by the 85-1 vote by the Senate in favor of the McCarthy committee's appropriation and the 362-1 vote by the House in favor of the Velde committee's appropriation. **In all of Congress there are only two men who have the nerve to risk being redbaited for opposing the present witch hunt committees.**

As Labor's Daily, which is sympathetic to the Javits bill, said March 2: "Passage was expected around the time the Soviets cede Siberia to Alaska."

'SILENCE' AND 'RIDICULE'

Other suggestions are to give McCarthy the "silent treatment" and to "ridicule" him. The Luce publications and CIO President Walter Reuther both have called for the former, and ex-President Truman is still advocating the latter.

But it is worth noting that Luce could not follow his own advice after the Stevens affair. On the contrary, Time magazine put McCarthy's picture on its cover last week and ran a long story about him and issued special newsstand placards exhorting the public to buy Time in order to learn all about McCarthy. Time still tries to belittle McCarthy, as in its supercilious statement about "nervous talk of McCarthy as a serious reactionary backed by Texas millionaires," but it knows he cannot be ignored — precisely because the threat he represents is already quite "serious."

As for the "ridicule" approach, recently renewed by Truman, everyone can recall that he himself did not use it last November when he got the McCarthyite treatment on the Harry Dexter White smear and answered in a very indignant speech over the nation wide networks.

Who is really subject to ridicule — a fascist demagogue recording one success after another in his campaign to McCarthyize American life, or the people who try to minimize those successes and convince the country that they can be reversed by making fun of the fascist demagogue?

Luce, Reuther and Truman don't seem to remember that such methods were also employed against Hitler — with about as much success as Stevens had against McCarthy.

One of the better articles written on the subject was by Carey McWilliams in the liberal Nation March 6. What the Republicans and Democrats want, he notes, is "a 'nice' witch hunt, directed by men of decorum, subject to 'proper rules' which make it possible to lynch a witness politely. On this score McCarthy is right: it is impossible to conduct a successful heresy hunt without using his methods. Thus when faced with a clear-cut choice between rejecting the witch hunt, which they regard as an essential defense against communism, or capitulating to him, they have taken the second course. . . McCarthy's hateful methods are simply a function of the task he has undertaken. He would no more respect any rules the Senate might adopt than he would abide by a gentlemen's agreement."

McWilliams recognizes the graveness of the McCarthyite menace: "He has an excellent understanding, as he has demonstrated many times, of the blueprint by which European fascists undertook the conquest of power. He knows that he must 'coordinate' the army if he is to win total power. . . Once the opportunists in the Pentagon become convinced that their superiors will buckle under political attacks, the current secret shift (in the Pentagon) to McCarthy might become a landslide."

WHAT TO DO?

What should be done? McWilliams answers that "the neo-fascist movement of which McCarthy is now the recognized leader — every village and town and every organization has its 'bite-size' would-be leader — cannot be countered by smart tactics or clever manipulation; it must be opposed politically. The forces exist to oppose it, but they need to be organized around a program that will raise the real issues of the time. . ."

That's true. McCarthyism can be stopped, but only if its fascist nature is exposed and if the people are mobilized in independent political action totally rejecting the reactionary "anti-communist" premise that both capitalist parties share with McCarthy. The labor movement must stop relying not only on "smart tactics or clever manipulation" but also on the Democrats (as their leaders and the Nation have advised them to do) and get to work on building a Labor Party that will offer the American people a real vehicle for stopping McCarthyism.

Two white sergeants at Fort Jackson, South Carolina, who "disciplined" a Negro private by forcing him to stand beside a coal heater until he received severe burns, have been found guilty by a general court-martial. Their sentence — one year at hard labor and a "bad conduct" discharge.